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## The Third Migration: Profile in Current Research

On December 19-20, 1976, nineteen scholars specializing in Soviet affairs met in Ann Arbor, Michigan to consider the desirability and feasibility of conducting research based on interviews with recent Soviet emigres. The participants came from the United States, Canada, and Israel, and represented the disciplines of political science, history, economics, sociology, and literature. The conference was funded by the Research and Development Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and was hosted by the Center for Russian and East European Studies of The University of Michigan. It was the culmination of many conversations among Soviet scholars, foundation and government officials, and others concerned with Soviet affairs, who had speculated on the possibilities of enriching our understanding of the contemporary USSR by interviewing those who had recently lived there.

Out of the conference emerged a realization that a lot of work and research is under way using Soviet emigres as a resource, but the work is scattered and the scholars involved are not always in touch. The conference revealed a clear-cut need for a summary of work in progress as well as a statement on the value of the emigres as research sources. The following report, prepared for conference participants by Professor Zvi Gitelman, is being circulated via this Newsletter to AAASS members and others in the field with support from the AAASS Research and Development Committee.

In the last decade, over 200,000 people have emigrated from the Soviet Union. This represents the "third emigration" from the USSR, the first having left after the revolution, and the second in the last years of the Second World War. The present emigration is ethnically and socially very different from its predecessors. Ethnically, the "third emigration" includes about 160,000 Jews by nationality, over 30,000 ethnic Germans, and a few thousand Armenians. The rest are mainly Russians, Ukrainians, and Balts. Socially, well over a third of the emigrants have had post-secondary education and are in technical, professional, and academic occupations.

Most of the emigrants have gone to Israel. Between 1969 and April, 1978, some 126,000 Soviet emigres arrived in Israel. But whereas in 1973, fewer than 5% of those arriving in the Vienna way station from the USSR did not continue to Israel, this percentage has gradually risen. Since 1976, slightly more than half of the emigres have gone on to countries other than Israel, mainly to the United States, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe. By the end of 1977, nearly 24,000 Soviet immigrants had come to the United States with the assistance of HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society),

and probably several hundred others had come with the aid of other agencies. The Germans, of course, resettled in the Federal Republic of Germany, as did a few Balts, Russians, and Ukrainians. Other Russians have immigrated to England and France, but Canada ranks as the fourth largest recipient of Soviet immigrants (after Israel, the FRG, and the U.S.), with about 5,000 recent Soviet immigrants.

There are some striking differences in the geographical origins of the Jewish emigres who have gone to Israel, on the one hand, and those who have come to the United States, on the other. Though they made up only about 3% of the Soviet Jewish population in 1970, Georgian Jews constitute nearly a quarter of the immigration to Israel, as does another group, Baltic Jews, who also made up slightly more than 3% of the Soviet Jewish population. Central Asian Jews are nearly 10% of the Israeli immigration, and "Mountain Jews" (from Daghestan and Azerbaijan) about 5%. Most of the others have come from the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Moldavia. By contrast, nearly two-thirds of the Jews immigrating to the United States come from the Ukraine, and another 20% or more come from the RSFSR, so that the two large Slavic republics have contributed almost 90% of the American immigration. Still, in both 1976 and 1977, there were American immigrants from thirteen of the fifteen Soviet republics. One suspects that the sharp contrast in the geographical composition of the Israeli and American immigrations is due to different levels of Jewish consciousness, of education and skills, and to different motivations for emigration among the Jews of the several Soviet regions. It may also be due to the change in the economic and military position of Israel after 1973.

The German emigres have come from the Baltic republics and from Central Asia. They are mostly industrial workers, peasants, clerks, nurses, and teachers. About the emigres of other nationalities there is little systematic information. As is well known, some outstanding Russian artists, musicians, writers, and scholars are now living in Western Europe and North America.

As with most emigrations, the young are overrepresented among the Jews who have emigrated. The Soviet Jewish population is sharply skewed to the older age cohorts, but 28% of the immigrants to the United States (1971-75) were age twenty and under, and 54% were between twenty-one and fifty. The immigration to Israel is somewhat older, with about two-thirds under age fifty.

Among the immigrants to Israel, one-quarter are classified as "scientific and academic workers," another fifth are pro-

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professionals, 37% are industrial and construction workers, 10% were employed in services and retail sales, and another 10% had various other occupations. About 60% of the American immigrants were in the labor force. Of these, 28% are professionals and academics, 11% are engineers, and 12% are technicians. Fourteen percent were in "white collar" jobs (managerial, clerical, sales), 17% in "blue collar" jobs, and 12% in services.

The immigrants have been initially settled in about one hundred different communities in the United States. Nearly half the arrivals are located in New York City, with Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, and Boston - in that order - being the other major centers of Soviet immigrant resettlement.

It should be obvious that the emigres constitute an unusual and valuable resource for research on the Soviet Union. The results of the Harvard Refugee Interview Project of the 1940s and 1950s are testimony to the value of systematic interviews with Soviet emigres. To date, there has not been an effort mounted on a similar scale to interview the recent arrivals, but several smaller scale studies have been launched. Following is a listing of such projects as have come to my attention. I am aware that there may very well be many more such projects, and I apologize to those not listed here who are doing research among emigres. Indeed, the major purposes of this article are to alert scholars to existing research potentials and to inform the scholarly community of ongoing research, in the hope that this will stimulate scholars to do more of this kind of research and to exchange information about their research, so that our knowledge will be cumulative and more refined and duplication of effort will be avoided.

#### Research in Progress

The following is a brief listing of current research involving Soviet emigres - almost certainly not a complete roster.

#### ISRAEL

(1) At The Hebrew University (Jerusalem), Gur Ofer (economics) and Aaron Vinokur (economist/sociologist, himself a Soviet emigrant, now at Haifa University) have completed data collection on the budgets of 1,000 households. As of early 1977, at least three background papers were produced as part of the project on Family Budgets of Soviet Immigrants. (See, e.g., Aaron Vinokur, "Industrial Workers' Evaluations of Their Families' Actual Monetary Income and Their Conception About Normal Income in the USSR"; "Surveys of Family Budgets in the USSR"; and "Average Net Monetary Income of Workers' and Employees' Families in the USSR from 1964 to 1973," Research Papers, No.

14, 17; 20, Soviet and East European Research Centre, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.)

(2) Smaller-scale projects based at Hebrew University include a study of journalism and mass media, by Zev Katz (sociology); the Jewish national movement and the use of law in controlling dissidence in the USSR, by Binyamin Pinkus (Russian studies); the Party apparatus, by Aryeh Unger (political science); local government in Georgia, by Theodore Friedgut (Russian studies); the informal organization of the firm and effects of economic reforms, by Martin Spechler (economics, also Tel Aviv University).

(3) Studies of the Jewish national movement in the USSR have been conducted by several scholars. A major project, involving several thousand survey interviews and several hundred indepth interviews, has been directed by Yaacov Ro'i (Tel Aviv University) and Mordechai Altshuler (Hebrew University), for which data collection has been completed.

(4) An anthropological study of Georgian immigrants has been conducted by Yitzhak Eilam (Hebrew University), and there is a parallel study of "Bukharans" by Rinah Ben-Shaul. Reports of these studies are available in Hebrew.

(5) The Israeli Institute of Applied Social Research conducted a major study on behalf of the Absorption Ministry of the integration of some 1,500 Soviet immigrants who arrived prior to 1971. Two volumes are available in Hebrew describing the results of the study. A brief English summary (a report submitted to the Ford Foundation in August 1975) is entitled "Patterns of Integration over Time: Soviet Immigrants in Israel," by Judith Shuval, Elliot Markus, and Judith Dotan (42 pages). Judith Shuval has published, in Hebrew, a study of the absorption of Soviet doctors in Israel. This is accompanied by an overview of the Soviet medical profession.

(6) Yeshayahu Nir (Hebrew University) included in his book, *The Israeli-Arab Conflict in Soviet Caricatures* (Tel Aviv, 1976), the results of interviews with 118 immigrants who were asked about their reactions to Soviet political humor.

(7) Jeffrey Ross (Hamilton College) did a study (1972) of political alienation among immigrants. See his article, "The Composition and Structure of the Alienation of Jewish Emigrants from the Soviet Union," *Studies in Comparative Communism* VII (Spring-Summer, 1974).

(8) Zvi Gitelman (University of Michigan) has studied the political socialization in Israel of Soviet and American immigrants. See

his "Soviet Political Culture: Insights from Jewish Emigres," *Soviet Studies* XXIX, 4 (October, 1977).

(9) Shalvia Ben-Barak and Neli Plotzker of the Russian and East European Research Center, Tel Aviv University, are studying political and family socialization in the USSR.

(10) The Soviet and East European Research Centre at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem publishes a "Soviet Institutions Series," consisting of monographs in Russian, by recent emigres who had personal experience with Soviet institutions. Nine such monographs have been published, and the institutions covered include collective farms, newspapers, labor camps, the Union of Composers, and research institutes in mathematical economics, sociology, criminology, and "machine-building technology."

#### UNITED STATES

(11) Vladimir Trembl (Duke University) and Gregory Grossman (University of California, Berkeley) have consulted with emigre economists and other recent arrivals in connection with a research project on the "second economy" in the Soviet Union.

(12) Zvi Gitelman (University of Michigan) directed a study of 132 recent immigrants in Detroit in the summer of 1976. See his "Soviet Jewish Emigrants: Why Are They Choosing America?" *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 7, 1 (1977), and "Recent Emigres and the Soviet Political System: A Pilot Study in Detroit," *Slavic and Soviet Series* (Tel Aviv University), II, 2 (Fall, 1977).

(13) HIAS and some of its local agencies and equivalents, and other resettlement and welfare organizations, have accumulated vast amounts of information on the background of emigres. Some have a detailed Soviet job history for every immigrant in their area. The HIAS Division of Research and Statistics publishes summary data on immigration to the U.S.

(14) Stephen Feinstein (University of Wisconsin-River Falls) has interviewed a sample of recent Soviet immigrants in Minneapolis-St. Paul. He presented his findings at the Midwest Slavic Conference, May, 1977.

(15) A number of individual specialists in Soviet studies have interviewed emigre specialists in their own fields of interest (e.g., law, housing, planning, cybernetics, press, genetics, prison conditions, literature).

(16) The ICA (formerly USIA) has made a number of grants to scholars conducting in-depth interviews with emigres who were special-

ists or were active in social, political, and cultural life. The Research and Development Committee of the AAASS has sponsored the applications of some of these scholars. They include: (a) George Breslauer, assistant professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley. He is interviewing former Communist Party members now in Israel and in the U.S. in an investigation of informal communications networks and center-local party relations; (b) Stephen Sternheimer, assistant professor of political science, Boston University. He is complementing interviews conducted in the USSR with emigre interviews, investigating political relations among local government officials and how access is obtained to local power structures; and (c) Roman Szporluk, professor of history, the University of Michigan. He is studying the process whereby new Soviet journals are created. This entails interviews with former members of editorial boards.

Other scholars working with ICA grants include Michael Swafford, assistant professor of sociology, Vanderbilt University and Maurice Friedberg, professor of Slavic languages and literature, University of Illinois.

#### CANADA

(17) Donald Schwartz (University of Toronto) has been aiding the local resettlement agencies. Toronto has about 3,000 immigrants.

(18) Roberta Markus (University of Toronto) has written a doctoral dissertation dealing with political socialization and the image of the Westerner in the USSR. This involved interviews with eighty emigres. Her current project involves interviews with three hundred immigrant children, their parents and teachers, in order to examine perceptions of the Soviet Union and the West.

#### WESTERN EUROPE

(19) Stephen White (Glasgow University) has interviewed thirty-seven Soviet emigres in connection with a study of Soviet political culture.

(20) Juozas Kazlas (Yale University) has interviewed over two hundred ethnic German emigres from the Soviet Union in West Germany as part of his research for a doctoral dissertation in political science.

(21) Radio Liberty has conducted interviews in Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and elsewhere, and has published and aired a number of brief works of recent emigres.

(22) Rasma Karklins (Boston University) has been interviewing Baltic and German emigres

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from the USSR in Germany in connection with a study of formal and informal institutions in the Soviet Union.

(23) Several British specialists, notably Peter Reddaway (London School of Economics) and Mervyn Matthews, have been working with emigres knowledgeable about Soviet dissent. Matthews's forthcoming book on the lifestyle of the Soviet elite is based in part on emigre interviews.

(24) The Bundesinstitut fur ostwissenschaftliche and internationale Studien in Koln sponsors research on the history of the Soviet Germans, conducted by Drs. Pinkus and Fleischhauer, as well as research on ethnic stereotypes held by the emigres.

Some Soviet emigre scholars have published their own works or are at work on memoirs or analyses of aspects of Soviet life and culture (Aleksander Nekrich, Alexander Yanov, Grigori Svirski, Boris Shragin, Aron Katsenelenboigen, Mikhail Agursky, et al).

This partial survey illustrates the potential for research among emigres, a potential which has only begun to be exploited. The Research and Development Committee is now seeking funds for an inventory of research involving emigres and of emigres with special skills, life experiences or expert knowledge of the USSR. Such an inventory should stimulate and facilitate research and enable Western scholars to take full advantage of the unusual opportunities presented by the "third emigration."

## Call for Proposals

The Research and Development Committee has issued a call for proposals for research projects to be funded under the 1977-78 renewal grant from the Ford Foundation. AAASS members are invited to communicate with the R&D Committee chairman, William Zimmerman (Dept. of Political Science, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109) for guidelines for submitting research proposals. Research support, according to the terms of the Ford grant, can be given only to projects dealing with the Soviet Union or the USSR in comparison with other world regions, including Eastern Europe. Deadline for consideration of proposals is September 22.

The Research and Development Committee will meet during the AAASS convention this coming October in Columbus, Ohio.

Currently, members of the Research and Development Committee, in addition to Prof. Zimmerman, include S. Frederick Starr (Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies), Murray Feshbach (U.S. Department of Commerce), Brian Silver (Michigan State U.) and Joan Grossman (U. of California, Berkeley).

## ICA Awards Contract

The U.S. International Communication Agency has awarded a contract for \$43,626 to the MAASS for a research project on "Informal Communication Networks in the Political Decision-Making Process in the Soviet Union." The project will use as a basic resource the pool of former Soviet citizens now outside the USSR who have direct knowledge of the informal power and communications network inside the Soviet Union. Project directors are George Breslauer (U. of California, Berkeley), Stephen Sternheimer (Boston U.) and Roman Szporluk (U. of Michigan). The proposal for the project was initiated by the MAASS Research and Development Committee; work began in June and all funds are to be expended by summer 1979.

Three individual topics are to be pursued under the project. Professor Szporluk plans a "natural history" of Soviet journals. Through intensive interviews with former Soviet citizens involved in press and publishing, he hopes to amplify what is known about the establishment of journals. His interest is to depict the informal process preceding submission to the Party apparatus of a request to establish a journal.

Stephen Sternheimer will undertake an examination of the formal and informal communication processes in Soviet urban management. Emigres who were formerly employed in administrative agencies of local soviets, municipal enterprises, trade unions and party committees will be interviewed. Professor Sternheimer's research will provide insight into the informal linkages within the context in which urban policy takes shape.

George Breslauer, specialist on the changing function of the CPSU, will focus on the role of informal, personal ties and connections within the Party itself. His research will involve a number of Soviet emigres who held positions as *raikom* secretary or higher. He is especially interested in such questions as the informal processes of consensus-building, informal ties in personnel selection, local perceptions of and reactions to differences between community-based social roles and centrally derived political roles.

All three projects will make use of the emigres as a research source through questionnaires and interviews. Project directors are working toward a conference on the three topics, at which time they will share research experiences and report on progress. Final written reports are scheduled for completion in the summer of 1979. William Zimmerman (U. of Michigan) will be responsible for liaison between project directors and the R&D Committee.